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EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress.

Brilliant Banquet Features National Conference

Picket Reunion Links Past And Present

JAN -1 1938
U.S. PERIODICAL DIVISION

Equal Rights On The International Front

By LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD

International Relations Chairman, National Woman's Party

January 1, 1938

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, and the adherence of the United States to the Equal Rights Treaty. The Woman's Party also supports the proposed Equality Amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Art. 1—Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Art. 2—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Introduced

Senate—By Senator Townsend (Del.), and Senator Burke, (Neb.), Feb. 5, 1937, (Senate Joint Resolution No. 65).

House—By Representative Ludlow, (Ind.), Jan. 5, 1937, (House Joint Resolution No. 1).

Present Status

Senate—Before Judiciary Committee; favorable report by sub-judiciary committee June 23, 1937.

House—Before Judiciary Committee; favorable report by sub-judiciary committee June 16, 1937.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS TREATY

"Art. 1—The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

Signed

By Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay, at Montevido, December, 1933.

PROPOSED EQUALITY AMENDMENTS TO COVENANT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right of vote shall not be denied or abridged on the ground of sex."

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice regarding nationality."

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries men and women shall have equal rights in all other fields."

"The members of the League undertake that there shall be both men and women, with full voting powers, in all delegations to the Council and Assembly of the League and to all Conferences under the auspices of the League."

Present Status

On agenda of the September, 1937, Assembly of the League of Nations.

Democracy For Women

WOMEN of the United States are serious in demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in the next session of Congress in order that they may share fully in democracy. It is significant that in the countries where the highest degree of civilization is found, the status of women is best. As American women note today the backward trend in some countries, they deem it important to fix their status in the federal Constitution as a permanent safeguard both for their sex and the nation.

National organizations of women campaigning for the Amendment are now lining up their forces for action. They represent a strength that is not measured solely in membership, but in influence, covering every state and every phase of national life.

Women have never had a reputation for devoting their energies to politics, but this does not mean that they are not politically astute. When intelligent people make a just demand involving their liberty, at least to the extent that liberty is enjoyed by others of equal citizenship, and call upon those they choose as their representatives, to act in their interest, they will not be ignored.

It cannot truthfully be said that women of the United States have ever enjoyed democracy, for in a real democracy there are equality of rights and responsibilities. Women have fought a bloodless battle, making their gains step by step, contending with their own flesh and blood to rid themselves of the yoke of slavery, fastened upon them by traditional prejudice.

Men and women who think clearly, know that the granting of equal rights to women under law through amending the Constitution to include the Equal Rights Amendment, is a simple matter. Procedure would be as orderly as was the procedure when women were enfranchised. Women are tired of being children and institutional cases where rights are concerned, and adults of sound mind where responsibility to law and paying taxes are involved.

At some future day the recorded history of the present status of women in the United States will be just as absurd and unbelievable as the status of women in this country one hundred years ago is to us today.

The United States is wrestling with serious national problems. If ever in the history of this country sanity and reason were important, that time is now. These problems involve both men and women. For more than one hundred and fifty years, women of the nation have fought alongside with men in the trenches where today's national battle must be won. Those trenches are on the farm, in industry, the world of work and in the home. Women do not believe that "Equal Justice Under Law" should apply only to men in a country they helped create and support. In constructive plans for Youth, they are concerned for justice and equal opportunity for their daughters as well as their sons. They want for themselves and their daughters and granddaughters, freedom, at least to the extent that their sons know freedom, and they mean to have it.

Throughout the United States this rapidly crystallizing sentiment and demand for immediate action is not merely the result of the desire of women for equal rights. The desire has long been there, but women are aroused as never before because of backward political trends involving their status. Therefore, to arrest the adverse trend affecting women they are demanding full equality under the law which is democracy in the fullest sense of the term.

Brilliant Banquet Features National Conference

VERA BRITTAIN, ENGLISH FEMINIST, SENATOR BURKE AND RAYMOND SWING DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS

EARLY passage of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, was forecast during the two-day biennial National Conference of the National Woman's Party, held December 14-15 in the Nation's Capital. Those familiar with the political signs pointing to the success of a measure, see a winning combination in the rapidly increasing sentiment among women throughout the United States for "Equal Justice Under Law," and the growing understanding of the righteousness of this demand by men and women in strategic political positions.

In addition to the two business sessions in connection with the Conference, when reports were heard, Congressional gains announced, and the campaign for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment outlined, the highlight of the Conference was a brilliant banquet at Hotel Carlton the opening night, featuring three distinguished speakers and ardent supporters of the cause of equality: Vera Brittain, noted English feminist and author; Raymond Gram Swing, internationally known as a writer and radio commentator, and United States Senator Edward R. Burke, of Nebraska, co-sponsor with Senator Townsend, of Delaware, of the Equal Rights Amendment, the Party's immediate objective.

Mrs. Sarah Thompson Pell, Woman's Party National Chairman, presided, welcoming the guests and introducing Senator Burke and Mr. Swing. The honor of introducing Miss Brittain she accorded to Betty Gram Swing, who was associated with Miss Brittain in feminist activities in Great Britain.

Serving as a background for the elevated table at which the speakers were seated was a large banner bearing the inspiring words of the equal rights pioneer, Susan B. Anthony: "Failure Is Impossible."

On either side of the speakers were District representatives of national organizations now standing for the Amendment, whom the Chairman presented, and a large number of members of Congress were among those crowding the spacious dining room to its capacity.

Warning women of democratic countries against the dangers they face from encroachment of fascist ideas on the liberties insured under a democratic form of government, Miss Brittain spoke of the necessity of a safeguard, "such as your Equal Rights Amendment."

Stating that "the woman movement in Germany was virtually swept away in the so-called spring cleaning of the Nazi rulers," she related how one woman leader appointed by the Dictator himself, in a speech following her appointment, thus expressed her aim: "May we German women consciously stand before history and say 'here we stand. We cannot do anything different and we do not want to. God help us all.'" "It hardly seems possible," said Miss Brittain, "that the great western democracies, such as your country and mine, will endorse any policy involving complete retrogression. . . . For this reason, England has been watching with great interest the stand made by the National Woman's Party on behalf of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We feel that particularly on this question of the freedom of half of humanity, England and America should work in cooperation."

Senator Burke said that he had been hesitant about promising support to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, feeling that such a step should not be taken lightly, but added that when he found the statute books of the forty-eight states crowded with legal discriminations against women, which impeded their progress, he became convinced that a Constitutional Amendment was not only a necessity but an emergency.

Speaking of so-called protective laws for women only, he said: "Close study of the question has convinced me that, in the end, it will be better for *all* workers if protection is thrown, not around a special group or class, but around the job itself. Labor should be encouraged in its insistence, and society should demand, that all work, no matter by whom performed, shall be under decent conditions, at a fair wage, and for reasonable hours." Charging that many who desire these restrictive laws do so in order to eliminate women from the field of competition, he added: "We do but obstruct and delay the real solution of the problem of employment if we give heed to those who would restrict women workers in order to make more jobs for men."

In conclusion he said: "You ask no special privileges. You crave no favors because you are women. You are willing to match your strength and your intelligence with your brothers. Write into the Constitution this Amendment, and women will be free to make their fullest possible contribution to the building of a better America."

Raymond Gram Swing, who spoke on "The Business Cycle and Women" analyzed the economic situation in the United States, and "sharp economic decline." "No one yet knows," he said, "whether this is only a 'business recession' or the beginning of another major depression." Reviewing the governmental forces and methods of the past few years, and expressing the hope that what we are experiencing is only a business recession, he stated that "the liberty of women is at the mercy of the business cycle, unless it can be made secure beyond the reach of economic forces." "If there is any chance to make it secure," he added, "*that chance is now.* And unless it is made secure now, the gains of a century are in jeopardy."

Saying that women never gain or retain their own liberty in any but a free society, Mr. Swing touched upon the tendency to drive women out of the economic field.

"If there is to be a major depression," he said, "there will be a shortage of jobs, and when there is a shortage of jobs, it is like a shortage of life boats when a ship is sinking. Only, the moral code in a depression isn't to save the women. There goes up another deep-throated cry—'send the women back home; give their jobs to men.' And this cry is then rationalized by reviving the old creed of male supremacy. It is a foolish creed for a modern state, as every economist knows. But a major depression is a frantic experience. It brings out the latent foolishness in human beings."

Urging the importance of immediate action to fix in the law the principle of equal rights between men and women, as a safeguard for the nation as well as for women, Mr. Swing said: "If this is a major depression, you have a historic task. It is as important as the brave struggle made by the women who won the

(Continued on Page 189)

Picket Reunion Links Past And Present

HISTORIC CAMERON HOUSE AGAIN CROWDED WITH WOMEN DEMANDING EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

RECALLING incidents of the dramatic close of the campaign for Suffrage when members of the National Woman's Party focused attention on the demand of women for political freedom by picketing the White House, that memorable fight was linked to the present demand for equality under law, at a luncheon at the Cosmos Club on December 14, the second day of the National Conference in Washington.

Meeting in historic Cameron House, now the Cosmos Club, from the portals of which they marched in 1917 and 1918, carrying banners proclaiming to the world that women demanded the franchise, the White House Pickets held their first reunion. There were in evidence the famous picket and prison pins, badges of distinguished service in the cause of liberty, presented twenty years ago to those who picketed and to those who served jail sentences as the price for their suffrage activities.

Presiding was Amelia Himes Walker, of Baltimore, who had served a jail term. She told of the work of suffrage pioneers and the historic contribution of the Woman's Party.

Mrs. Walker introduced Betty Gram Swing, who served several prison terms and whose recent "call to the colors" had resulted in the first picket reunion. Mrs. Swing linked the suffrage campaign with the campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment, explaining that the latter was but the logical sequence to the former. Bridging the years since suffrage, she outlined the successive stages that had brought equality between the sexes to the threshold of accomplishment.

Pathos and humor filled the reminiscences of the former suffrage chieftains, Doris Stevens, author of "Jailed for Freedom," and now head of the Inter American Commission of Women, and Mabel Vernon, of the People's Mandate for Peace, who in days of yore led the line of pickets on their march to the White House. Nina E. Allendar, famous as the suffrage cartoonist, and designer of the picket and prison pins, read the original note addressed to her by Alice Paul, Woman's Party founder and political genius, from her prison cell. Accompanying the note was a sketch of the proposed prison pin. Mrs. Allendar called attention to the fact that Alice Paul wrote only of the cause for which they were fighting, and not one word of her personal discomfort. Florence Bayard Hilles and Elsie Hill, each wearing a prison pin, spoke briefly. Both Mrs. Hilles and Miss Hill have served as National Chairman of the Woman's Party and are now members of the National Council.

Mrs. Swing then presented the pickets, among whom were Elsie Hill, Helena Hill Weed, Doris Stevens, Mabel Vernon, Florence Bayard Hilles, Gladys Greiner, Mrs. Townsend Scott, Alice Gram Robinson, Mrs. Robert Adamson, Nina E. Allender, Gertrude Crocker, Eleanor Arrison Adams, Mary Dean Powell, Anita Pollitzer, Sheldon Jackson, Amelia Himes Walker, Matilda Young, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Elizabeth Forbes, Abby Scott Baker, Mrs. Margaret Williams, Burnita Shelton Matthews, Laura Berrien, Betty Gram Swing, Carrie Harrison, Mrs. Almirah Sweeten, Lucile Calmer, Sara Grogan, Joy Webster, Mary Dean Powell, Lucy Cooper Shaw, Margaret Hopkins Worrell, Winona Marlin, Edith Houghton Hooker, Helen Hunt West and others.

A moment of silence was observed in memory of Amelia Earhart, beloved member of the Party, who, shortly before her "last flight,' wrote to her husband, George Palmer Putnam, "Women must try to do things as men have tried. When they fail their failure must be but a challenge to others."

Margaret C. Moss, of Akron, Ohio, secretary of the Summit County, Ohio, Federation of Labor Clubs, with a membership of 50,000 men and women who are for the Equal Rights Amendment, spoke from the viewpoint of Labor. "A Labor Union recognizes a worker as one who works and not as a man or woman," said Mrs. Moss. "My own Union, which is composed exclusively of women, endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1936 . . . That endorsement still stands and in order to keep the record clear was reaffirmed in 1937." Declaring that women had come this far along the road because they have never feared change, but looked forward to a newer, brighter and a better world, she said: "The day is not far distant when we, as women, shall walk side by side with man—and not one step behind him as befits a slave. Then indeed will freedom be an accomplished fact."

Mrs. Moss introduced a number of other representatives of Labor, several of whom responded briefly.

Angela Bambace, of Baltimore, general organizer for the Ladies' Garment Workers, said:

"Labor has got to stand for the principle of Equal Rights for men and women, because the fundamental principle of Labor Unions is equality and justice. Many Labor organizations have found this out a little too late. The Cigar Makers Union broke their union because they thought they ought to keep women out. Refusing to give women the right to join did not keep them out of the industry. In fact, the only ones who gained anything were the employers who hired women at non-union wages. . . . I had a very difficult time trying to make women see that the only way to get equal rights is to organize and fight for them. Before we can fight for equal opportunity we must educate women to want this right. And so, after a number of years propagating the idea, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has been able to organize a women's local in Baltimore, fighting for the same rate of pay as the men."

Elizabeth Fisse, representative of Local 327, Ladies' Garment Workers of Maryland, stated that she believed the Equal Rights Amendment to be the "only insurance" for her job, and the only guarantee for "equal economic opportunity."

Among New York industrial women speaking briefly were Mary Murray, Chairman of the Industrial Council, National Woman's Party, Isabel Strachan, Bessie Scully and Flora Blake.

Mrs. Alma Ambrose, State Legislative Chairman of the Maryland Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, said that her organization had endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment "because we realize that only through equality in all legislation can women realize equal opportunities and equal pay."

Mary Catherine Lewis, vice-president of the Lewis Hotel Training School, and a representative of the

Soroptimists, spoke on the "Protection Working Women Need," declaring the Amendment to be the answer.

Helen Robbins Bitterman, Woman's Party Ohio Chairman and Congressional Chairman for the middle western states, spoke on the dangers of protective legislation, quoting statistics and giving personal experiences on which she based her conclusions. Mrs. Bitterman presided at the opening business session of the conference, Miss Marie Lockwood, of Delaware, presiding at the other.

The last speaker was Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic National Committeewoman for Pennsylvania, wife of Honorable Carroll Miller, of the Interstate Commerce Commission and sister of Senator Joseph F. Guffey, of Pennsylvania.

"Many of those opposing the Equal Rights Amendment," said Mrs. Miller, "talk and work for equality in almost every other line. They plead for more women in Congress, with which we agree; they work to give women an equal share in party representation, with which we agree; they ask for equal opportunity to work, and equal pay for the same job, with which we agree; they labor for more just laws for women, with which we agree; but they do not realize that the answer to all discrimination, to all economic, political and legal slavery, is equality for men and women alike."

Expressing the opinion that irrespective of political party affiliations citizens of the United States believe in democracy, she said, "We are all confident that the ideals of the Eighteenth Century which made this country a nation, still live and it is our privilege and duty to cherish them," adding, "We hear and read of the dangers which threaten all democracies through the spread and coercion of the dictator forms of government. The United States is the pre-eminent example of a successful democracy and dangers to its advancement must be considered and guarded against. Is the answer less democracy or more? If it is less, then we women will find ourselves descending, not ascending the heights of civilization, and if we descend, the men go with us. If it is to be more democracy, then the answer is equality for all, irrespective of sex, and means progress for both men and women. It does not mean merely equality of opportunity; not merely equality in politics, but equality within the law. Hence we need the Equal Rights Amendment and we need it *NOW!* I am aware that this may take the breath of some of our law makers and be frowned upon or misunderstood by women who cry for protective legislation and thereby would keep us in the class with children. Ladies and Gentlemen on The Hill, we ask you to take us through the door that leads to real freedom and true democracy. Give us the Equal Rights Amendment!"

Referring to women who opposed woman suffrage, some of whom now oppose the Equal Rights Amendment, Mrs. Miller said: "It has always seemed to me that one of the most amusing chapters in American history will cover the period of the last years of our fight for suffrage. At that time, there were thousands of women of wealth and prominence, and presumably intelligence, who joined together in associations to keep themselves in political slavery. They traveled thousands of miles to keep other women at home. They published a journal . . . They went even further. They paid the expenses of well known men to come and tell them they were not fit for the ballot. It is going to be very embarrassing to their grandchildren."

In conclusion, Katherine Fisher, one of the suffrage pickets, read her beautiful poem of twenty years ago entitled "Cameron House," a stanza of which reads:

"A new evangel ringing through the venerable rooms;
New purple swinging where the old wistaria blooms;
Purple blossoms swaying high and purple stripes blowing;
In and out the footsteps light of women ever going,
Feet stepping light but firm with purpose to be free.
How long must women wait for liberty?"

Marie Moore Forrest presented to the assemblage a resolution prepared by Mrs. Robert Adamson, of New Jersey, urging the Cosmos Club to mark appropriately, with a tablet, the portal from which the women marched in their crusade for political freedom. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Seated at the speaker's table in addition to those who spoke were Abby Scott Baker, of the International Relations Committee, National Woman's Party, and long a member of the National Council, who wore the prison pin, and who has just returned from Geneva, where she worked for equality on the international front; Mrs. Louis Ludlow, wife of Representative Ludlow of Indiana, sponsor of the Amendment in the House, who extended greetings; Ella Werner, chairman of the luncheon committee, and Florence Bayard Hilles, the Party's former national chairman.

The luncheon tables were arranged in the spacious assembly hall, crowded to overflowing and decorated in the purple, white and gold banners of the Woman's Party.

The gathering was a significant one. Non partisan and representing powerful political and economic groups, there was a massed strength that was impressive and augured well for the Equal Rights Amendment in the coming session of Congress. It has often been stated that "where the Woman's Party finds understanding, it finds cooperation," and throughout the National Biennial Conference in session for December 14-15 there was every indication that understanding and cooperation are widespread.

Woman Comptroller

Bessie M. Townsend on January 1 will begin her ninth three-year term as City Comptroller of Atlantic City.

Miss Townsend, who was the first woman to hold the position in Atlantic City is a non-political appointee and serves because of her fitness for the job.

Banquet Features National Conference

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right of suffrage. It requires a zeal, I dare say, and an organizational momentum unequalled in any other year of feminist history. It is a task which every lover of liberty prays you may perform for his or her sake, and for your own."

Men and women high in the councils of the political parties, and others prominent in the Labor movement and women's organizations, remained at the close of the banquet to greet each other and express their approval of the plan to present a united front in a campaign to extend democracy to women of the United States.

Equal Rights On The International Front

"THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY IS LAUNCHED; WHAT SHALL WE MAKE OF IT?"

By Lola Maverick Lloyd
International Relations Chairman, National Woman's Party

ALTHOUGH the National Woman's Party is not directly represented on the Woman's Consultative Committee where it has indirect representation through several component groups, I know you are vitally interested in the work in Geneva and want to report on this year's campaign there, as well as regarding a few other jobs I was able to do, directly representing the Woman's Party.

In spite of a long standing and precious engagement at Smith College last June, I managed to attend the Paris meeting of the Woman's Consultative Committee in May, to make my report and relinquish my chairmanship to Abby Scott Baker, of the Inter American Commission. In Paris the Consultative made no new report to the League of Nations but merely sent in a recapitulation of the Bill of Rights as we drew it in '36, adding a demand for amendment of the unsatisfactory Hague Covenant on Nationality now fully ratified by ten governments. We also authorized the sending of a letter that had been circulated amongst us, addressed to the chairman of the Committee of Twenty-eight, and calling the attention of this Committee for the revision of the Covenant to include our four proposed equality articles.

Then there was a week in Geneva during the meeting of the International Labor Office, opposing the American resolution on women's equality, because it contained a clause that meant actual inequality. As a mere expression of opinion, it may do no harm. Anyhow, it passed solidly, the delegates convinced by its eloquent phrases or by the prestige of the official American delegation, which contained McGrady, Grace Abbott and many others.

In July I made a second trip to Europe to attend two peace congresses and work in Geneva for equal rights. At the triennial congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom the discussion of equality was omitted, but I distributed later to all the congress delegates a written report of the work of the Women's Consultative.

As the representative of the National Woman's Party I attended the annual September meeting of Equal Rights International, in Geneva. Dorothy Evans was elected vice-president to substitute for the president, Mrs. Littlejohn, during her half year's absence from London. Mrs. Littlejohn will be lecturing on women's status as she travels this winter in Australia and the United States. The Equal Rights International works actively in the Consultative, sending many members to Geneva in September. This year their influence was especially useful in the new Ad Hoc Committee of Eight.

You will know from articles and documents published during the year in Equal Rights, that it was the Consultative that put the subject of women's status and our sweeping program for equality before the League of Nations in 1936.

The voluntary grouping of organizations known as the Liason Committee of the Women's International Organizations, including some of the same organizations that compose the Women's Consultative (but concerning themselves with a multitude of subjects, and not at all, until recently, with the status of women), opened a Geneva office with a secretary and plenty of money for an active campaign. Accurately speaking it was not the whole Liason Committee but eight of their groups who combined temporarily to work for equal status. After the Assembly the Ad Hoc Committee for Eight disbanded, recommending to its members a continued interest in status and a study of actual conditions.

By means of an active sub-committee on propaganda led again by Lillian von Matsch with Alice Paul and several fine new helpers (from the National Woman's Party came Mary Philbrook, Mrs. Ransome, Miss d'Estimanville, among others), the Women's Consultative Committee supported the demands we made in 1936. The Consultative will pursue equality in the international field as long as it has the mandate from its component groups.

What success for the 1937 campaign? Well, several innovations were made after the acute danger of an adjournment without discussion had been escaped at the very first public session. The first committee appointed as rapporteur the popular Miss Hesselgren, sub delegate of Sweden. This ensured a report and a discussion. We have never had a rapporteur before.

After extended sessions in private Miss Hesselgren's sub-committee made a full report and brought in a resolution that was amended and adopted by the First Committee. This was printed in the October issue of Equal Rights.

The public discussions were very lively, with more than twenty delegations taking active part and crowds filling the limited space reserved for press and public in the small new committee room of the large new Palais des Nations. The most interested organization members no longer have access to the delegates unless they have the addititonal—but rare—press card that lets them sit on the same floor with delegates and enter wide impressive corridors when they escape for air or smoke, or even the express purpose of meeting persons interested in the current subject. This evermore-perfect isolation is hardly evidence of a trend toward democracy.

With such obstacles we did all we could to get action now and to make a permanent place on the agenda for women's status. The action we got is no great triumph and the agenda is again for an indefinite period void of our subject. But it is always replaceable if we have the required energy to put it back. And our demands for equality written into the Covenant may be brought up in the Committee of Twenty-eight whose chairman, the liberal Professor Bourquin, has already called the attention of its members to them.

Our four articles, although plainly on the Assembly's agenda, were not mentioned in Miss Hesselgren's report. Several delegates, however, agreed during the discussion that equality ought to be written into the covenant. We should have liked the First Committee to have recommended for action the four articles to the Committee of Twenty-eight, where they logically belong, and where we assume they will eventually be taken up with or without the reference of the First Committee.

The Assembly passed the draft resolution of the First Committee. This means, after the January Council of the League approves it, the appointment of a committee of nine experts with pay to portion out for study by various legal research bodies some of the

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Let's Make Believe

Life with father, as the lamented Clarence Day made clear, was an ordeal requiring the utmost fortitude and delicacy on the part of the Victorian wife and mother. There were some things that father knew, a woman couldn't understand, some things she ought not to know about, some problems that had to be left to the head of the house because no one else had any sense about them. Clarence Day's father, and many others who were like him, have long been roaring up and down the golden streets, bowing politely to the lady angels but not taking their opinions on any non-domestic subject. But their influence, as Dr. William Allan Neilson, of Smith College, was reminding an audience of girl students and alumnae in Brooklyn some evenings ago, lingers on.

Dr. Neilson thinks that women are still under the spell of traditions formed when they were expected to withdraw from the dinner table after dessert had been served, leaving the men to talk of weighty masculine subjects. What did the men actually talk about? Dr. Neilson didn't say. Business and politics, possibly; horses, dogs and hunting—was that all? From a careful reading of English novels, from a knowledge of human nature, from certain data as to the drinking habits of the period, one may be sure that it was not all. Was this masculine conversation an intellectual exercise, beyond the feebler grasp of women's minds? No, dear ladies, it was nothing of the kind.

And yet the illusion lingers that father and his pals talked about something pretty deep. As Dr. Neilson intimated, women are still a bit hypnotized—not to say bullied—by the intellectual arrogance of "husbands and brothers." Well, it is time that this nonsense ended. The race of males, let the charming members of the opposite sex be assured, is but an array of stuffed shirts. Gaze at them in the bleak array of black and white in the flashlight photographs of their stag dinners. Do they look bright? Do they even look human? It must be admitted they do not. At the best they look like penguins. Their wisdom is owlish, their humor heavy, their shirt-fronts bulge, they are bald, their waist-lines are gone, and they issue platitudes that no group of women could swallow without gagging.

Woman supports and defends the home, with tooth and claw, if need be. She has no sense of fairness. She will not stand in line. She will lie and cheat in defense of mate and children. She puts an absurd emphasis upon superficial appearances. But she does not addle her brain by pretending to believe in the solemn mockeries of the male world. As she invades that world, many of its pretenses disappear. In father's time there was a profound mystery as to what a man did in his office. There is naturally no such mystery now. He reads his newspaper, receives a few visitors, talks over the telephone, looks out of the window and goes to lunch, from which he does not return until 3 o'clock—or just in time to clear his desk before going home. The work is done by female secretaries.

No, women should have no sense of intellectual or managerial inferiority. If they pretend to have one, it must be because of a deeper wisdom. The poor male is a pathetic figure—he would collapse utterly and revert to barbarism if he were not continually flattered, bolstered up, his vacuity and childishness concealed behind a starched stuffed shirt. Please, dear ladies, pretend a little longer. Do not take Dr. Neilson too seriously.—New York *Times*, November 8, 1937.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

WHEN I picked up the Ladies' Home Journal the other day and turned to the editorial page I had to look twice to be sure I was not reading Godey's Lady's Book of 1838. The editorial which so amazed me and catapulted me into the past suggested that learning to dance well might be considered pretty good training for marriage. In dancing, explained the editorial, "The man leads. He chooses the pattern that their feet shall follow. The woman must be guided by him. She must then be docile, she must submit herself to his guidance. . . . Only as one can they succeed." And the editorial makes it plain that the "one" is the husband and that the wife influences him subtly by her very docility.

The moral drawn for the readers of the Journal by this antiquated philosophy is that "the lesson of the dance floor, perfectly learned, might lead to fewer divorces"; and the suggestion is put forward that "women readers happily wedded will agree that it's a good analogy."

What does such philosophy sent out by one of the most widely read women's magazines mean? It means that either the editors are living in a dream of long ago or that insidious Fascist propaganda is being sweetly fed unsuspecting victims. I wonder that anyone would be so naive as to try to put that sort of thing over on the able, wide-awake women of the United States.

Of course, the Ladies' Home Journal tries hard to camouflage its reactionary back-to-the-home campaign by pretending in its advertising that it is an up-to-the-minute modern magazine for the modern woman. It even claims that it is planned for the "more realistic, more curious, more honest woman of 1938."

No, Editors of the Ladies' Home Journal, you are not writing for women of 1938 even if you occassionally have an informative article or pleasing story they may want to read. In spite of the fact that we do not find in your pages gorgeous plates of tight-laced bustled ladies, you really do date back to 1838.

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Equal Rights On International Front

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aspects of the subject of women's present status in the world. Not a small job, and it is material that will be historically invaluable.

Some of us need no research to discover that what we want is equality. But study will do no harm if the advocates of equal rights are not discouraged by it and persuaded to leave the gentlemen in peace for the duration of the research, as the British delegate, Mr. Becket, put it in his plea to the private sub-committee. His remark was repeated by Miss Hesselgren in her oral report and caused a laugh in the First Committee.

Another laugh followed the seemingly innocent proposal by the chairman, Mrs. Yen, of China, that Becket's clause in the draft resolution be worded positively: "Instead of saying we *won't* take up status again while the study goes no, let us say, as soon as the study is done we *will* take up the subject." Her proposal was not discussed but it helped to dispel the sacred aura of British dignity. We know beforehand that the British and the French and the Dutch will oppose our progress because they always have, but the British usually do not come out in the open. They count on the valuable help of the Secretariat and the quiet loyalty of their dominions.

Becket's clause was a prohibition of further discussion of our subject in the First Committee until the study program ends. He made it plain enough that "His Majesty's Government" would never want it discussed by the League. The prolonged consideration of his clause showed up our friends as well as our foes. We were glad when he finally lost out, but we respect and like a frank enemy.

Another advance in clarity occurred when the Secretariat showed its hand for the British play of study and postponement. The permanent officials in Geneva love the status quo and silently assist the delegates to repeal all innovation. This year they sent an agreeable but never before feminist woman to lobby openly where only the press and the privileged can find delegates. I had lobby work to do myself and I envied her the wide acquaintance showed as she waylaid them one by one. Her contact with women's groups is part of her job—though she had none with the Consultative until after all was over. Mrs. Baker had tea with her while parrying questions about our future policy. Whether it is proper or not for the Secretariat to engage in legislative functions, it is better to be open about it as they were this year. Then we know where we are.

Let women everywhere take note of the attitude of their governments for or against women's international progress. And let women in all the national branches of the League of Nations Union be discriminative and exact pay "in kind" for their faithful support of the League.

So now the League of Nations is about to appoint a committee of nine experts. *Experts on what? On the rights of women?* Then the four women should certainly be dyed-in-the-wool feminists and if possible, the five men, too. But while study goes on and women in all our groups wake up at last to their actual limitations, feminists already aware of facts need not and will not fold their hands. Work must go on—through the Women's Consultative Committee, if it remains enthusiastic and welcomes new feminist groups to its ranks, or, if reaction occurs in the older organizations, we can develop for the flying wedge the young International Woman's Party, already making its official debut. Its signature is among the *six* on the letter of thanks that went to the delegations that spoke for our cause during this Assembly. The National Woman's Party authorized its formation, you remember, in our '36 convention in New York. In fact, its beginning dates from years ago when Alice Paul and Margaret Whittemore were first in Europe for international work. The International Woman's Party is launched. What shall we make of it?

Poles May Open Army To Women

Under a government bill to be submitted to Parliament next week the nation's defense forces in peace-time would be open to Polish women from 19 to 45. They would be able to volunteer for a special auxiliary force in which they would undergo military training. Service would be made compulsory in peace-time for girls with a high school education.

The bill also creates a general auxiliary service for men from 17 to 60 who are unfit for active service. The measure is intended to extend and perfect the national defense.

The auxiliary service would comprise air and gas defense corps and medical and other units. The bill would also create a new armed force beside the regular army under the name "The Nation's Defense," consisting mainly of former soldiers, who would serve short terms only, would not live in barracks and would be able to attend to their normal occupations, as their military duties would occupy only a few hours daily.—Warsaw, Poland, Dispatch to New York *Times*, December 16.

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